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LEAGUE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

Would President Wilson's Covenant of the League of Nations Prevent War?

Opinions of our Political Prophets and the Reliability of their Forecasts Made During the War

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By

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President Wilson stands sponsor before the entire world for the Covenant of the League of Nations. Save for an insignificant minority largely made up of pacifists and radical socialists this Covenant is not desired by the nations of Europe, although we have been assured that without it the heart of the world will be broken. It is now known, furthermore, that the Covenant is not desired by the American people as a people, although the world has been assured that Mr. Wilson has held their mandate for its ratification without the crossing of a "t" or the dotting of an "i." As the result of intrigue and of an atrocious official propaganda to conceal the facts, the Senate of the United States has been practically estopped from rejecting the Covenant in its entirety and has been forced to content itself with reservations which will rob it of its more vicious provisions.

If the Covenant could be expected to prevent future wars, as has been claimed by its advocates, all American citizens worthy of the name would be its supporters, almost without regard to its other conditions. Its official godfather, standing in the august presence of the assembled delegates of the Peace Conference at the solemn moment of promulgating the Treaty of Peace with Germany, when the whole world stood at attention, declared in words which permitted of no shadow of uncertainty that this covenant is "definite as a guarantee of peace." In a barnstorming campaign which for magnitude has no parallel in all history, an army of 30,000 speakers organized by the League to Enforce Peace have demanded ratification of the Covenant in order to prevent future wars. Should the American people accept the judgment of this army as sound, or should we reject the covenant as voicing the opinion of visionaries?

The League's supporters include the President and his entire cabinet, a Republican ex-president of the United States, the president of Harvard University, various ambassadors and ministers of the Wilson regime, and professors and preachers almost without number. A no less notable body of eminent men, on the contrary, holds the belief that the Covenant is vicious, that it will lead, not to peace, but to interminable wars, and that it will moreover tend to replace demo-

cratic by despotic forms of government. The issue is clearly joined. By whose judgment are we to be guided?

From the beginning this problem has been concerned primarily with the reliability of judgment of our political prophets. In the business world an expert whose judgment upon a matter of the first importance has been found to be seriously at fault, ceases to be a reliance in future transactions. How much more important is it that in affairs effecting the very life of the nation we should rely upon men of proved sanity and of sound judgment! The great crisis from which we have just emerged has fortunately supplied a test of the reliability of our political prophets in their reactions to President Wilson's pronounced pacifism and his attempts to dictate the affairs of the world. How did the principal advocates of the Covenant of the League of Nations react to the unprovoked assault of Germany upon Civilization? How clearly did they then visualize the menace that hung over America, and how clearly did they see the necessity of our joining in a real and practical alliance of freedom-loving nations—not in a visionary league of all nations good and bad and dominated from Europe—to prevent the downfall of Civilization? How willing were they then to send armies to Europe when free to act through their own representatives, not in a hypothetical instance when ordered to do so by a body of nine ambassadors from alien nations in which they would have but a single representative. Below is the record for ten of the advocates of the Covenant most prominently before the public, and for an equal number of those opposed to it. Grouped with some regard to their positions and interests, they are as follows:

For the Wilson League	Against the Wilson League
Woodrow Wilson	Theodore Roosevelt
Newton D. Baker	Leonard Wood
William Jennings Bryan	Elihu Root
Gilbert M. Hitchcock	Henry Cabot Lodge
Josephus Daniels	James M. Beck
A. Lawrence Lowell	Hiram W. Johnson
Henry Ford	Henry A. Wise Wood
William Howard Taft	David Jayne Hill
Jacob H. Schiff	Otto H. Kahn
Stephen S. Wise	Lindley M. Garrison

Almost without exception the names in the first list are those of men who reacted against, or at best but mildly for, assuming our responsibilities as a nation in the period between August, 1914, and April, 1917. In fact it would be strange if any pacifist were not also an internationalist, since both propose to place their reliance for national security on scraps of papers—what Mr. Wilson has called the moral judgment of mankind. The second list includes the prominent preparedness men of the recent crisis, and as a rule preparedness men are opposing the Wilson League. There are, however, many excep-

tions, the most notable being that splendid patriot, George Haven Putnam, head of the American Rights League.

For the League

WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States. "He kept us out of war."—Campaign slogan which won Mr. Wilson his re-election in 1916.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"A war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes cannot touch us." Delivered to joint session of Congress on December 8, 1914.

"With its causes and its objects we are not concerned." Speech of May 27, 1916.

"Have you ever heard what started the present war? If you have I wish you would publish it, because nobody else has, so far as I can gather." Speech of Oct. 27, 1916.

"We shall not alter our attitude because some among us are nervous and excited. * * * The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defense." Mr. Wilson on Dec. 8, 1914.

[More than a year later General Wood declared: "We know this, that if a war does hit us, we have not in any particular—I make no exception whatever—adequate reserve materials for the first force we should have to call."]

"There are actually men in America who are preaching war, who are preaching the duty of the United States to do what it never would before—seek entanglement in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water; abandon its habitual and traditional policy and deliberately engage in the conflict which is now engulfing the rest of the world. I do not know what the standard of citizenship of these gentlemen may be. I only know that I, for one, cannot subscribe to those sentiments." Mr. Wilson's speech at Des Moines, Feb. 1, 1916.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"It [the Covenant] is definite as a guarantee of peace. It is definite as a guarantee against aggression. * * * It is practical, and at the same time it is designed to purify, to rectify, to elevate." At promulgation of the Treaty at Paris.

"The structure of peace will not be vital without the League of Nations, and no man is going to bring back a cadaver with him." Speech on March 5, 1919.

"The things that these men (soldier dead) left us, **though they did not in their counsels conceive it,** is the great instrument which we have just erected in the League of Nations." Memorial Day address at Suresnes Cemetery near Paris.

"Put up or shut up, you contemptible quitters." Referring in an address to his critics in the United States Senate.

Against the League

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Former President of the United States, and for thirty-five years an advocate of national preparedness.

"Plain speech with plain folk,
And plain words for false things,
Plain faith in plain dealings
'Twixt neighbours and kings
He used and he followed
However it sped—
Oh, our world is none more honest
Now Great Heart is dead."

—Rudyard Kipling in poem
dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"Only mischief has sprung from the activities of the professional peace prattlers, the ultra-pacifists, who with the shrill clamor of eunochs preach the gospel of the milk and water of virtue and scream that belief in the efficacy of diluted moral mush is essential to salvation."

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"The Germans seem likely to try to make peace * * * and are apparently seeking to cover their retention of some of their ill-gotten substantial gains by nominal and theoretical support of some glittering proposal about a League of Nations to end all war. * * * Therefore it is well at this time for sober and resolute men and women to apply that excellent variety of wisdom colloquially known as 'horse-sense' to the problems of nationalism and internationalism. These problems will not be solved by rhetoric. Least of all will they be solved by competitive rhetoric. Masters of phrasemaking may win immense, though evanescent, applause by outvying one another in words that glitter, but these glittering words will not have one shred of lasting effect on the outcome except in so far as they may have a very mischievious effect if they persuade good, ignorant people to abandon the possible real good in the fantastic effort to achieve an impossible unreal perfection. Let honest men and women remember that this kind of phrasemongering does not represent idealism. * * * Nations are made, defended and preserved, not by the illusionists, but by the men and women who practice the homely virtues in time of peace, and who in time of righteous war are ready to die, or to send those they love best to die, for a shining ideal." From "The Great Adventure" by Theodore Roosevelt, published in November, 1918.

For the League

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War in President Wilson's Cabinet.

"When President Wilson, a year after the sinking of the **Lusitania,** appointed Mr. Baker Secretary of War, he absolutely insured all the trouble that has come from the breakdowns in our war program." Theodore Roosevelt writing in November, 1918.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

After obstructing nearly every sensible war program which was recommended by military experts, Secretary Baker, after we had been forced to enter the war, expressed publicly his "delight" and "pride" in the fact that "we were not prepared."

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"Unless such an organization [League of Nations] is formed under some name and under some constitution, anarchy bred by disease, hunger and despair will overwhelm the earth."

Against the League

LEONARD WOOD, Major General, U. S. A. The American Lord Roberts, the father and the genius of the Plattsburg Camps, the man who trained two splendid divisions, was wounded in France on inspection work,*but was barred from his command at the front by orders from Mr. Wilson's Secretary of War.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"We know that as long as men are men wars will always occur." From an address in 1912.

"We owe it to ourselves and to those who come after us to take heed, not to the idle prating of dreamers, but to the stern facts that surround us and which lie ahead of us. What we want must not influence us too much; we must take into consideration conditions which we must meet. We may desire world peace, * * * and we may pray devoutly that war will never come to us, but we should not forget the teachings of history or neglect the observations and deductions of common sense."

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

Speaking to Hospital Unit No. 36, in 1919, with reference to the claim that any covenant will protect the world from war, General Wood declared this to be "idle twaddle and a dream of mollycoddles. * * * The pacifists, moreover, tell you lies when they say that war, as an institution, is dead. Don't listen to the mollycoddles. Be a citizen of common sense."

For the League

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, Ex-Secretary of State in Mr. Wilson's Cabinet and the world's champion platform preacher of pacifism and unpreparedness.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"We cannot possibly take part in this war without contracting an enormous war debt. * * * In the second place no man can tell how many men it will cost us. * * * The third objection is that we would forfeit an opportunity that never came to any other nation before since time began." Spoken at Lake Mohonk Conference in 1916.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"The League of Nations is the greatest step towards peace in a thousand years. The idea of substituting reason for force in the settlement of international disputes is in itself an epoch-making advance."

Against the League

ELIHU ROOT, Secretary of War and later Secretary of State in President Roosevelt's Cabinet, Honorary President of the National Security League, and one of America's Foremost Authorities on International Law.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"Ordinary practical sense in the conduct of affairs demanded that such steps should be taken that behind the peaceable assertion of our country's rights, its independence and its honor, should stand power manifest and available, warning the whole world that it would cost too much to press aggression too far. The Democratic Government at Washington did not see it. Others saw it and their opinions found voice."

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"It is to be observed that neither the Executive Council nor the body of delegates to whom disputes are to be submitted under Article XV of the agreement [the Covenant] is in any sense whatever a judicial or an arbitral body. * * * The honorable obligation of each member is a political obligation as the representative of a State. * * *

"The scheme practically abandons all efforts to promote or maintain anything like a system of international law, or a system of arbitration or of judicial settlement through which a nation can assert its legal rights in lieu of war. * * * It puts the whole subject of arbitration back where it was 25 years ago. Instead of perfecting and putting teeth into the system of arbitration provided for by the Hague conventions, it throws those conventions upon the scrap heap."

For the League

GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, U. S. Senator from Nebraska, and Democratic Leader in the Senate Fight for the League of Nations.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

In 1914 Senator Hitchcock introduced the resolution to prevent war loans to the Allies, and also the German-inspired bill to prevent the shipment of arms and ammunition to the Allies, a bill which if passed would probably have caused the downfall of Civilization.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"It is the union of nations, and these nations intrust the real power to an Executive Council of nine nations. * * * Most of the power of the League is permanently intrusted to an Executive Council * * *."

Against the League

HENRY CABOT LODGE, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, who has led the fight against the Covenant in that body. Roosevelt has testified that Senator Lodge was for years his strongest ally in the fight for preparedness legislation. On Dec. 8, 1914, Senator Lodge introduced in the Senate a resolution calling for investigation into the mliitary preparedness of the country, and ten days later he introduced a bill for army increase and reserve.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"The talk about peace just now is originated by German agents for the purpose of affecting public opinion here and elsewhere. We must dismiss from our minds any idea of a speedy peace. * * * If Germany conquers France, England and Russia, she will dominate Europe and will subsequently extend that domination, if she can, to the rest of the world." Interview Sept. 24, 1914.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"The ranks of the armies and the fleets of the navy made necessary by such pledges [those in the Covenant] are to be filled and manned by the sons, husbands, and brothers of the people of America. I wish them carefully to consider, whether they are willing to have the youth of America ordered to war by other nations without regard to what they or their representatives desire. I would have them determine after much reflection whether they are willing to have the United States forced into war by other nations against her own will. They must bear in mind that we have only one vote in the Executive Council, only one vote in the body of delegates, and a majority of the votes rules and is decisive."

For the League

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Secretary of the Navy in Mr. Wilson's Cabinet. "Mr. Daniels was the one man who more than any other had stood in the way of the preparation of the American navy for war." Henry Breckenridge, ex-assistant secretary of war in Mr. Wilson's cabinet.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"We should go on just as though there were no war." Secretary Daniels before the Congressional Committee in considering the question of preparedness.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"When the representatives of the fourteen nations sitting in Paris, embracing the most powerful victorious countries and representing twelve hundred million people agreed upon the Covenant of Peace, it was an event in the world's history second only to the declaration of the shepherds' of Bethlehem: 'We have seen His star in the East and have come to worship Him.' Practical statesmen from Paris to Tokio, with differing traditions and speech all spoke and understood the same language for the first time since the days of Pentecost at Jerusalem."

On March 15, 1919, referring to the opposition to the League of Nations, Mr. Daniels made public this forecast:

"They [the opposition] have presented us with the Presidency and Congress two years from today."

Against the League

JAMES M. BECK, Ex-Assistant Attorney General of the United States, eminent jurist, and one of the foremost advocates of preparedness. His "Evidence in the Case" and "The War for Humanity" passed through many editions and probably did more than any other books to mould public opinion in preparation for American responsibilities in the war.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"Possibly half of the tragedies of history are due to military unpreparedness and in no way has the solemn warning of Solomon been more strikingly illustrated:· 'Where there is no vision the people perish.' "

"The noblest spirit of America has been dulled by too many diplomatic platitudes during the last two years, and the rising spirit of indignation among true Americans will sooner or later demand a fearless appreciation of what has happened, and a resolute purpose to vindicate its honor."

"A 'peace without victory' would crucify the cause of international justice afresh and put it to an open shame."

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"Upon the broadest grounds of patriotism and because the Covenant would permanently affect the destinies of the American people, the Republican Senators preferred to risk a party schism to defeat the project which in entire good faith they regarded as a menace to the best interests of the United States, and indeed, to the world, which could only be injured by following this will-of-the-wisp into the morass of disaster in which Civilization now finds itself."

"They tell you there is a profound agitation for the League of Nations [in Great Britain from which Mr. Beck had just returned]. It tell you it is not so. There may be some such thing among the advanced socialists."

For the League

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, President of Harvard University, member of the Council of the League to Enforce Peace, and one of their principal speakers on tour, a foremost authority in matters of government.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

President Lowell did not identify himself in any notable way with the preparedness movement, but was identified with various peace assemblies. On June 17, 1915, he spoke at a peace convention but on June 25th following said in graduation address at Harvard University:

"Can we sit still and count our pence and watch ball-games and not turn our attention to the other side? Ought we not to feel that it imposes burdens on us?"

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"If the house is on fire and we have the alternative of throwing the baby out of the window or letting it burn, we do not ask the cost of the fire escape. * * * If there had been no dangers to be met, there would have been no necessity for the Constitution and there would have been no Constitution. Thus it is with the League of Nations."

Against the League

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, U. S. Senator from California. One of the most bitter opponents of the League included among the so-called "Irreconcilables."

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"Democracy, to survive, must ever be ready to protect its own. Every normally constituted man abhors war. * * * But a nation such

as ours, dependent for its prosperity upon the character of its citizenship, that dare not maintain its ideals, and will not protect the lives of its citizens, sows within itself the seeds of dissolution."

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"And long before we saw a line of this secret document a tremendous propaganda, financed with hundreds of thousands of dollars, obtained from clubs and organizations enthusiastic endorsements. Our people were taught to chant 'promote peace and prevent war.' The formula 'promote peace and prevent war' swept over all the land, and its necessary corollary, before there was any league of nations at all, was the endorsement of the fantastic thing which feared the light in its creation and has denied to those most affected by it the slightest knowledge of the circumstances, events, and details of its composition. I received, just as other Senators did, innumerable resolutions before any of us had the slightest conception of what the league of nations was, and the resolutions, in like tenor, have continued from that time to the present. Before publication of it the various trainloads of distinguished gentlemen were going about the country holding meetings and conventions in different localities advocating an undisclosed document dealing with the future of the Republic."

For the League

HENRY FORD, multimillionaire automobile manufacturer and ultrapacifist. He sent out the **Oscar II** loaded down with pacifists to secure a peace without victory in 1914, spent large sums to secure the re-election of President Wilson and was "commanded" to become candidate for United States Senator from Michigan.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"I am against preparedness of any kind, for preparedness is surely war." Interview of Jan. 3, 1916.

"I do not believe in the flag. It is something to rally around. * * * Patriotism is always the last resort of the scoundrel." Interview with Mr. Wise Wood, May 16, 1916.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

Testifying on the stand July 15, 1919:

A. "I am strong for preparedness."
Q. "But in 1915 you were not?"
A. "I was not."
Q. "Why are you for it now?"
A. "I am for it unless we get a league of nations."
Q. "You are for a great war now?"
A. "I want the United States to clean it all up."

Against the League

HENRY A. WISE WOOD, inventor and manufacturer, ex-member of Naval Consulting Board, pioneer of preparedness and founder of the League for the Preservation of American Independence.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"I am no alarmist. I do not call for, nor do I believe in, an hysterical rush to arms. But in this hour of confused counsel, I do firmly believe that by way of preparation our people should be taught the truth. * * * We are a practical people, and we are fast learning that this is a grimly practical age. * * * Therefore, as practical men, let us reconsider our situation. * * * Shall we not deal with the times after the fashion of the times and with dignity and thoroughness, but without hurry or rest, equip ourselves so effectually that of all our fears the least shall be of unpreparedness." Speech of January, 1915.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"History is full of the wrecks of such projects. * * * Idealism, indeed, has exacted and the world has paid a heavy price for the sins of its leaders, who entrusted to paper instead of to arms the safety of their peoples. It is all very well to dream Utopian dreams, but it is unsafe to act upon Utopian principles until we know that we are in Utopia. This truth the idealist has never learned. * * * We scrap our traditions, strike our national tent, and rush blindly into the untried wilderness of internationalism, where those who have never seen it say there lies a warless Utopian world."

For the League

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, ex-president of the United States, founder and president of the League to Enforce Peace.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

During the early years of the war Mr. Taft's attention was largely taken up with peace meetings, though he became a tardy and mild advocate of preparedness. He publicly praised the neutrality attitude of President Wilson, spoke against our entry into the war after the sinking of the **Lusitania,** and praised the Wilson notes which developed from that incident. January 3, 1916, he put himself on record for "reasonable" preparedness.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"If the President insists, as I hope he will, that the League be incorporated in the Peace Treaty and brings it back, then the responsibility for postponing peace is with the body that refuses to ratify it.

"It will be the duty of the President and his fellow delegates to the Conference to insert such a covenant in the treaty as indispensable to the peace sought. If in accordance with the sense of duty, therefore, such a covenant embodying the substantial features of the proposed one shall be incorporated in a treaty of peace, signed by the representatives of the powers and brought back by the President and submitted by him to the Senate, the question which will address itself to the proponents of this Senate resolution [the famous 'round robin'] will be not whether they would prefer to consider a League of Nations after the Treaty of Peace, but whether they will feel justified in defeating or postponing a treaty because it contains a constitution of a League of Nations deemed by the President necessary to the peace which all seek." At Metropolitan Opera House, New York, March 4, 1919. [New York Times reports that Mr. Wilson "smiled broadly" as Mr. Taft presented the above proposal.]

Against the League

DAVID JAYNE HILL, ex-United States Ambassador to Germany, president throughout the war of the National Defense Society, and of the National Association for Constitutional Government, and an authority on international law.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"Unless we conscript ourselves for the battle and lay our wealth and our lives at the altar of the defense of our institutions, we will find our descendants in the vortex of world dominating schemes of autocracy."

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"The destinies of mankind cannot safely be entrusted to the action of a secret conclave, nor can the future of America be bound up with the ukase of a single negotiator separated from contact with the American people."

"The contention that this Covenant creates an **imperium** does not rest alone on its attitude towards states outside the League. Under Article XXII the Council undertakes to govern, through its appointed agents, vast areas and numerous populations. It may govern well, or it may govern ill, but it assumes the right to govern. * * * Imperialism is imperialism, whether it be joint or single; and it is not a business that tends toward democracy or towards justice. Even in its purity and at its best estate it is a dangerous enterprise for a free people to engage in, and it is more dangerous than ever when innocence and good intention become the partners of seasoned experience in the game for power."

For the League

JACOB H. SCHIFF, German-American banker and one of the heads of the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. According to Harvey's Weekly Mr. Schiff has dispensed the vast sums for the propaganda of the League to Enforce Peace.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"For many reasons my personal sympathies are with Germany. I cannot feel convinced that she has been the real aggressor; I believe that war was forced upon her, almost as if by prearrangement among the nations with whom she now contends. * * * Although I left Germany half a century ago, I could think as little of arraying myself against her, the country of my birth, in this the moment of her struggle for existence, as of arraying myself against my parents." Communication to the New York Times, November 22, 1914.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"I bless the day when President Wilson set out for European shores to make sure that we should not be cheated—and I use this word because I cannot think of a better word now—out of the sacrifices we made abroad in our endeavors to maintain our high ideals. We are going to succeed, thanks to Woodrow Wilson, in spite of those who tried to put him down."

Against the League

OTTO H. KAHN, German-American banker and one of the heads of the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., who throughout the war was insistent in arousing his compatriots of German birth to their full duties as citizens.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"A century and a half ago Americans of English birth rose to free this country from the oppression of the rulers of England. Today Americans of German birth are called upon to rise, together with their fellow citizens of all races, to free not only this country but the whole world from the oppression of the rulers of Germany, an oppression far less capable of being endured and of far greater portent."

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"Nothing that we fought for makes it incumbent upon us to relinquish our fundamental national policies and traditions, and to transform the American eagle into an international nondescript."

"Nothing that we fought for makes it incumbent upon us to act henceforth as policemen for Europe and Asia."

"I have been at pains to read through the Peace Treaty, including the Covenant, from beginning to end. I laid it away sore at heart and sickened."

Against the League

STEPHEN S. WISE, Jewish Rabbi of the Free Synagogue and one of the principle speakers for the Covenant on the special tours organized by the League to Enforce Peace.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

"I blame secret diplomacy for the present war." Nov. 22, 1914.

"We thank Thee, O God, for the firmness and sagacity of our President and his advisers, which cooled our own lust for war. We beseech Thee to save our nation from being sucked into the present flood of passion. May our land remain an island of peace in this red sea of trouble. Grant our people a sober and neutral mind, etc." A prayer prepared by the pro-German, Walter Rauschenbusch, and delivered in the Free Synagogue by Rabbi Wise on Peace Sunday, Oct. 5, 1914.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM AT THE WAR'S CLOSE:

"Anyone who deliberately undermines the work of President Wilson in his endeavor to bring about the League is guilty of moral treason and will be dealt with by the American people in due time. * * * If no League comes with peace, America will have to become the most powerful military and naval nation in the world."

Against the League

LINDLEY M. GARRISON, ex-secretary of war in Mr. Wilson's Cabinet.

REACTION TO PACIFISM DURING THE WAR:

Mr. Garrison was a believer in preparedness, but for obvious reasons was debarred from expressing such views while a member of the Cabinet. He left the Cabinet because he could not support the sham Army Bill supported by President Wilson in defiance of the advice of the experts. Upon his resignation he was replaced by the pacifist, Baker.

REACTION TO INTERNATIONALISM DURING THE WAR:

"I have not heard one responsible voice lifted to say that the League of Nations is needed for any American purpose. No one has said that this nation, born in independence, and desiring nothing of its neighbors, needs to be directed by a council of nine or by a council of forty-nine because of failure on our part to live up to the principles upon which we are consecrated as a nation.

"We are asked to give up, on the other hand, a policy which has been inherent in American national life since Washington's time, and later reaffirmed by the Monroe Doctrine, although throughout history we have felt free to direct our own foreign policies by our own sense of duty."

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